1: Gorer J-5 (1937)1938 AK5 Lepcha AK5

that when he was younger he had been a little frightened; nowadays if his baby sisters cry he tells them that a devil will come and take them, and they stop at once. By the house of his lamaist instructor at Purfong there was a big tree which was the home of Jamfi *moong*. One evening this devil leant over the roof of the house, black and high as the sky; his teacher burnt a bunch of herbs and smoked a cigarette at it, whereupon it took itself off to the forest, whistling as it went. The visit of this devil did not produce any untoward results, but Chimpet admitted that at the time he was a little frightened.

Besides devils most children are frightened of houses in which there has been a recent death and of burial- or burning-places, and will usually run past them as quickly as they can. This fear persists as a motive for panic longer than the fear of meeting incarnated devils; thus twenty-two-year-old Rigya, after saying that as a child he used to run away from such places, later admitted that it was only in the last year that he was able to walk by them at an ordinary pace. Nearly all adults have a certain fear of devils when alone in the deep forest or on high mountains; and alone in the forest everybody is frightened of snakes and wild beasts; but these fears are perfectly rational; people are still occasionally poisoned by snakes and mauled by bears.

It sometimes happens that smaller children will be bullied by older ones; but this is rare, and if it does occur the children will be rescued either by their parents or elder brothers or by any adults present and the bullies will be well punished. As with other Lepcha relationships, love between siblings is not considered automatic; it is usual however, and there is a cultural expectation that elder brothers and sisters will instruct, help and protect their younger siblings who out of gratitude will love them in return.

Those children who are going to become lamas usually start to learn to read about the age of twelve; but here too there is no definite rule, and instruction may start three or four years earlier or later. Lepchas under instruction appear to regard their lessons as an unpleasant piece of extra work, only made tolerable by the hope of easy gain in the future. Except for future lamas or carpenters Lepchas appear to have finished most of their formal education by about the age of twelve. Children of that age could usually identify for me as many plants and trees as their elders; children under ten usually knew very few.

Very few children have an alternative home to go to if they feel

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and the washed entrails, together with a bowl of the animal's blood, were now brought and placed on the ground in front of the altar. The three celebrants turned again towards the mountain and offered the meat to Konchen, after which it was taken away and divided up among all present by the Mandal. While the chanting was still in progress a child was making rather a noise close by, whereupon the female helper, in a harsh voice, told it to stop: it obeyed at once.

It was now about two o'clock; but since early morning several Lamas had been busily engaged in the preparation of a large nine-decker *Deu*. The Deu is an elaborate form of *Tay*, and its function is the same as that already described for the latter. This particular one was built up on a piece of bamboo some ten feet in length, and was decorated with white, blue, yellow, and red thread, and later ornamented with tufts of white and magenta wool. It was meant as a house for the Mung called Dayom Pano, one of the many special devils of illness. It was not completed until about four o'clock, and by this time other men had constructed yet another altar, facing down the valley. At the same time a sort of stretcher was made. This was constructed of bamboos and ferns, and a platform of hard rammed earth was placed in the centre of it. A little powdered millet was now scattered over the earthen centre, while Lamas kneaded dough of millet and buckwheat. Tafoor now took a handful of the dough and fashioned it roughly into the shape of a tiger, which was later given white powder eyes and black eyeballs made from charcoal. This was impaled on a thin bamboo sliver, which had been fixed in the centre of the earthen base. A female figure was now made of dough and placed astride the tiger. This is called *Gedo*. Its head was covered in small stringy pieces of paste, said to represent serpents, which streamed down over the shoulders like hair. Many small dough *Tormas* were also made, and placed all round the central figure, each being stamped with a design which was a replica of the *Gedo* itself. These *Tormas* represent the servants of the figure, and are called *Diget*. To them were now added

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853 mother must take care not to go out in the sun, nor should
757 she sit down in any damp place. She should also give up eating salt and meat for the time being and it is better if she takes no *chi*. A diet consisting solely of rice and butter is considered the best at such a time.

856 There is nothing a mother can do to help her baby over the teething period, but it is considered better at such a time not to feed the child on frogs' or bears' flesh, or it will not talk until very late. The teeth should start to appear when the child is eight months old and should be complete by the end of the twelfth month; but if the child is seen by a pregnant woman its teeth will not appear until after that woman's child is born. For this reason pregnant women always take care not to look at other people's babies. The
777 lower teeth of a boy should appear before the upper or the
842 child's luck will not be good: moreover, if the first child is a boy and its upper teeth appear first it means that the next child will be a girl. With girls the reverse applies; and in
787 cases where their upper teeth do not appear first it means that in later life they will have trouble with domestic animals, and are likely to lose their husbands soon after marriage. Nothing can be done in cases of this sort, and parents generally conceal the fact that their children's teeth have appeared in the wrong order. It is a bad sign if a child of either sex has pointed milk-teeth in the lower jaw: this is a sure sign that the child will be naughty and disobedient.

856 A child is thought to become either "naughty" or "good"
577 at about the age of five or six; but its character is not finally
865 formed until about fifteen, or, in the case of a girl, not until
157 she gives birth to her first child. A "naughty" child is one who is unfriendly, who hits people, quarrels with its friends and throws stones at them; but the worst characteristic of "bad" children is that they will not co-operate with others. The domineering and strong-willed child with a mind of its own, which is looked upon with favour in our culture, would be quite out of place in Lepcha society, and would be definitely branded as "naughty." This is an excellent

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example of the conditioning of social personality. In a culture such as our own, in which "success" can only be obtained at the expense of others, it is obviously desirable to encourage the growing child's more aggressive characteristics, at the same time suppressing its gentler traits. In Lepcha society the reverse is the case: the domineering and aggressive type who is unable to co-operate with others is definitely out of place and cannot fit comfortably into the pattern of Lepcha village life. Looked at from our point of view, the Lepcha child is a milk-sop, the very antithesis of the "public-school" type; but the conditioning given the child from its early years produces the type of person that is best able to fit into Lepcha village life as originally constituted. It may not be, and in fact is not, the ideal type if the culture is to survive, for we have already seen that it is only by keeping the Jongu area as a Lepcha reserve that the tribe has escaped complete disintegration, by reason of its contact with the aggressive and materialistic Gurkhas. This is not to say, however, that the type is itself undesirable. It is, as a matter of fact, in many ways admirable; but it cannot survive when surrounded by people of more materialist cultures; and a certain amount of contact with the outside world is inevitable.

Few children are so "bad" that they cannot be improved with training. The ordinary child is naturally "good," and only becomes "bad" when spoilt by its parents, the spoiling taking the form of loving the child too much. If a "bad" child is not trained by the time it is nine or ten it will become uncontrollable, and it is thought that in such cases the only remedy is to send it away from home, preferably to be trained as a Lama. There were three such children in Lingtem; but their parents had regretfully to admit that the training had not improved them! Parents do not seem to co-operate much in the training of their children, and if either scolds the child the other invariably takes its part, so that, in the long run, the child generally gets its own way.

When a baby cries its parents will say, "See this pretty

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865 flower," or show it some other thing to attract its attention.
[861] When it is old enough to understand what is said it may sometimes be necessary to frighten it: *Kunjyong di-nong* is a phrase commonly used for this purpose, and may be roughly translated as, "Look out! the bogey man is after you!"; but apart from this, it is very generally believed that it is wrong to frighten young children.

[856] The baby starts to crawl when it is about six months old,
854 but it is not stood up until it is about a year, three or four months after which it commences to walk. Inside the house the baby is usually left to crawl about at its own free will: otherwise it is carried on someone's back, with its legs straddled round the waist, until it is about two-and-a-half years old, or even later if it is a youngest child. When the mother is working in the fields the baby remains in position on her back, where it soon learns to sleep peacefully while being constantly bumped about. Inside the house one of
[857] the other children will usually keep an eye on it; otherwise the parents will take turns in doing this. Baskets and cradles are seldom used: when it is necessary to put the baby down it is merely placed on a cloth on the floor or ground; but it is never swaddled. I should say that the average Lepcha child is much more carefully looked after than the corresponding Nepali child. It is very unusual to see a Gurkha without scars on the head, the result of falling into the fire as a baby; but I never saw a single case of this amongst the Lepchas. It may possibly be due to the fact that in Lepcha
[354 houses the hearth is raised about a foot above the level of
171] the floor, where it is thus out of reach of very small children, whereas the Nepali hearth is generally on the same level as the ground.

856 A baby can always toddle about before it starts to talk; and from the sounds it makes, when it is about four or five months old, it is easy to judge whether it will start to speak at the normal time. The speech of an average child, however, will not be intelligible until it is three. Up to this
[198] time it is spoken to in a special baby language, of which